What Is An Average?

"The time may not be far remote when it will be understood that for complete initiation as an efficient citizen . . . it is as necessary to be able . . . to think in averages and maxima and minima as it is now to be able to read and to write."—H. G. WELLS.

HELEN M. WALKER

If MARY'S weight is below average for her age, is that a cause for alarm? If Joan is above the average of her class in ability to read is that an occasion for parental self-satisfaction? There is a great deal of popular misunderstanding concerning the use of averages and their application to individuals. Many parents in particular think that when the phrase "above average" is applied to their child it is a description indicating that all is well with him and that to be "below average" is in some vague way a reproach.

An average is a measure used to describe a group, not an individual. One striking aspect of modern thinking is its interest in mass data, its eagerness to secure a view of human institutions, of human nature in the large. We want to know what is true *in general.* Are boys in general different from girls in respect to interests, abilities, behavior difficulties? Are only children as a class different from members of larger families as a class? Hundreds of such questions crowd upon us, to which the answers must be sought by statistical methods, and of which the purpose is the discovery of group trends. The competent statistician understands that his results apply to the group as a whole, but are probably not true for any one single individual selected from that group.

Some sixty years ago Sir Francis Galton in writing "Notes and Queries on Anthropology for the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands" wished to suggest an easy method by which a traveller could bring home a general picture of the stature of a native tribe. He suggested that a native chieftain might be unwilling to have the height of all his warriors measured, so as to give a complete picture of their stature, but he might consent to lining them up in the order of their height, and then might allow the traveller to measure the height of the middlemost man. His height could then be taken as a type of the whole row of tribesmen. Obviously it could not represent the height of any other single individual. This is all any average can do, it can summarize in a single measure, the central tendency of a group.

Taken alone, an average fails to give a complete picture of a group. To describe even a group adequately, an average needs to be accompanied by some measure of variability, of scattering. Suppose, for example, that A employs ten men to whom he pays weekly wages of $30, $32.50, $33.75, $35, $35, $35, $35, $36.25, $37.50 and $40 respectively, while B employs ten men to whom he pays $20, $20, $22.50, $22.50, $30, $40, $40, $45, $50 and $60 weekly. The average wage for each group is $35, but otherwise the pictures are totally different. For A's group the total range between the lowest wage and the highest wage is only $10, while for B's group it is $40. In A's group 60 per cent of the men receive wages between $33.75 and $36.25, while in B's group 60 per cent of the men receive wages varying from $22.50 to $45. Thus a measure of central tendency alone, without some measure of variation, fails to give a satisfactory picture of the performance of even the total group, to say nothing of the individual.

The fact that a child is three pounds under the average weight for his age is difficult to interpret un-

less we know what variation is to be expected among children of that age. Is three pounds a large or a small amount of variation in relation to the expected variability for this age group? A statistician would call this a deviation of three pounds from the average weight, and he would compare it with a standard deviation computed for the group in question. That process is too technical to discuss here, but it is obvious that we need a standard with which to compare individual deviations from the average in order to judge whether they are large or small.

People talk of the average weight of a child of a given age, or even of the average weight of children of a given age and given height, but they usually overlook the fact that weight varies not only with age, with height, with diet, but also with type of body build, with racial inheritance and similar factors.

Relative Values

An average and a measure of variability together give useful information concerning the position of an individual with respect to his group. In many situations it is as important to know how a person compares with his associates as it is to know what he can do in absolute work units. In a world of totally deaf men, one who could hear a little would be a person of great importance. Thus a reputation for superiority may be as much a matter of the quality of the group against which a person is rated as it is of the quality of the person himself.

If a child who is clearly working up to the limit of his ability is uniformly rated at the bottom of his group in school, it might well be asked if he ought not be placed in a different group, where he need not always be at the lower end. A child with a high intelligence quotient may be continually rated as much above the average of his class in all school subjects, or as much above the average for his age on standard achievement tests, and yet he may be doing work that is far below his own capacity. If rated against a group of children of his own age and intelligence, he might come near the bottom of the group or might be stimulated to do better work. Any parent who takes the phrases "above average" and "below average" as absolute descriptions of his child's performance is therefore making a serious mistake.

Keeping up with the Jones' Child

It seems to be one of the marks of the competitive age in which we live that many people are more concerned about having their children "above average"—though this standard may be either too high or too low for any given child—than about helping those children to achieve their own best destiny, develop their own finest abilities, acquire standards of excellence of work which are independent of the group mediocrity.

The interrelationship of traits cannot be overlooked. Not only is the fact of human variability well established, but it is also known that the myriad of traits in which we differ one from another are interrelated, and that there is a general tendency for desirable traits to occur together. This is of course one of those statistical generalizations which is true in the main but which afford no assurance that a particular child with high intelligence quotient will also have artistic ability or a good disposition or a fine physique. However, in general, children who are superior in one desirable trait are not likely to be inferior or mediocre in all others.

There is no average child. The mistaken concept of an "average man" originated with the great Belgian mathematician, astronomer and anthropologist, Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874), who thought there existed somewhere a "typical person," a general pattern of mankind such that deviations from this pattern could be considered abnormal, due to Nature's error. That concept has long since been shown to be fallacious, but it nevertheless persists. Thus a statistical norm, intended to be a description of the central tendency of an observed group, is sometimes interpreted as a standard to which individual children should be forced to conform, whether it is to their own advantage to do so or not.

A Law Unto Himself

The overemphasis on averages and, still more, the popular misunderstanding of their real meaning have caused conscientious parents no end of unnecessary worry. And yet this was a natural, perhaps inevitable, step in the rapidly spreading tendency to bring all that science can offer to bear on the betterment of child life. To judge children by rule-of-thumb—Mary is in the fourth grade at eight and the neighbor's Susan in the same grade is ten—was certainly even less helpful than measuring their progress against known standards for many children. But even the "average"—as interpreted by the "average" parent—has not told the whole story. Parents are now coming to the realization that though each child is like all other children, he remains in the last analysis, a law unto himself.

The trouble is not with the average but with the unintelligent use to which it is put. We should not use an average as a Procrustean bed on which the dwarfs are ruthlessly stretched and the giants tragically amputated.

Dynamics of Growth

Every child is an individual and this is nowhere more manifest than in the organs and tissues—even to the single cells, twenty-five trillion in number, which make up his physical structure.

I. NEWTON KUGELMASS

WE know that the average feeding formula will not be tolerated by our baby; that the average apparel will not fit our five-year-old; that the average wealth of the community is not in our pockets; that the average span of life never reaches every member of our family. But none of these is so unrealistic as the attempt to standardize plastic youth into average patterns; it is detrimental physically to growing children, troublesome psychologically to perturbed parents and false biologically to the national ideal.

Deep-seated differences and not equalities characterize children as strikingly as they do all the living world. And yet educational institutions, health clinics and welfare units have unconsciously led parents to the worship of figures, a twentieth century fetish in child care.

Let us follow the developmental progress of several newborn babies of the same social stratum and economic status. Since there is a general impression that a newborn slightly larger than the average seven pounds starts with better advantages physically, we shall select those who weigh approximately eight pounds at birth. Physical examination at birth reveals no inherited or extrinsic disturbances. Yet though these selected newborns are of the same weight and degree of immaturity they are, to the trained observer, veritable individualities.

Comparative observations of their developmental progress are very striking. Baby Z had his first tooth at three months, sat up at six months, stood at eight months, walked at a year, talked at eighteen months. Baby A had his first tooth at eight months, sat up at nine months, stood at a year, talked at thirteen months, walked at eighteen months. These records of developmental progress represent extremes in this small group of babies selected for study. Shall these extremes be considered abnormal? They cannot be so considered because careful examination of every system of the body revealed no pathology. The babies were under the same nutritional and hygienic care and the same medical supervision, yet how diversified in physical performance.

Such variations are due to the varied heritage of each baby. At eighteen months Baby Z weighed thirty-two pounds and yet did not appear obese. The big skeletal framework with long extremities made for massiveness. The parentage was Scandinavian. At eighteen months Baby A weighed thirty pounds but was short, fat and dimpled with many folds throughout the body. The baby was of Italian descent and conformed to the body build of his parentage. At eighteen months of age, too, a baby of English extraction was relatively long and thin and yet weighed twenty-eight pounds. A baby of German descent appeared wide and stocky and yet weighed twenty-seven pounds. A negro baby with a small trunk and long extremities weighed twenty-six pounds at eighteen months, while a Porto Rican baby of the same age weighed only twenty-four pounds. The statistical average for eighteen months is twenty-six pounds. Shall we then say that the twenty-six pound baby is the only normal one in the group?

We may further test the "average" in its applicability to twins. In one pair of dissimilar twins observed, deviations from month to month in all measurable physical characteristics become more and more striking despite the fact that they are maintained nutritionally in the same way, reared physically under the same hygienic and economic conditions and medical supervision. One of the twins grows rapidly, gains steadily in weight, reveals developmental characteristics in an orderly manner, is calm and controlled and never causes any disturbance, while the other is ever discordant and apparently fails to thrive. It is futile to compare their development with the average tables available because neither will conform. Yet neither is abnormal—but just different.

The fundamental basis for these developmental differences is in the constitution of each child, a potential endowment that has been established at the moment of conception. "Two-egg" or dissimilar twins

are therefore no more alike than any other children of the same parents, but identical or "one-egg" twins are rare beings who start life as duplicate individuals made of the same materials, oriented from the same genes in the same combinations. They are always of the same sex; their figures and features are alike; their eyes and hair are of the same color; their complexions are alike; their face, form and size are analogous; their teeth are alike even to the irregularities; and their fingerprints are as similar as those of the right and left hands of the same individual. They are alike even in bodily imperfections, in weaknesses and in tendencies to contract diseases. And yet their height and weight and developmental characteristics are not *exactly* identical. Thus are all physical and psychological characteristics determined by the nature of the material with which life starts—by heredity.

A Chance in Millions

EVERYONE is unitary and unique. Never before or again can the exact conditions be reproduced for the evolution of the same being. The mother possesses in all about 17,000 germ cells, and the father produces 339 billion. Any one of the 300 billions might unite with any one of the 17,000 cells. The chances for any given combination are thus one in five million of billions. Still further, the parent cells that unite are unique; each bearing a great set of diverse materials, perhaps a thousand different kinds, called genes. In the formation of a child half of these materials are taken in a random way from one parent, and half from the other. It is like the drawings of a lottery with the genes as the counters. The rules by which these drawings operate conform to the Mendelian laws of inheritance. With such a vast number of genes to draw from no two children even with the same parents ever approximate the same set of materials excepting, of course, certain pairs of identical twins. This, then, is the cause for the great variety in physical features and mental characteristics amongst human beings. And this is the scientific fact which challenges the concept of the average as a gauge in tracing the development of an individual child.

Growth is the one dominant manifestation of these unique combinations of living cells. Enlargement is not all there is to growth. Water-logged babies maintained on high sugar feedings only seem to grow more rapidly than better fed babies whose growth is more substantial though less massive. A gain of a pound of weight in a well nourished infant means an increase in brain substance and viscera and vital structures; in the adolescent that same pound is due to increase of bone and muscle; and in the adult it merely indicates the accumulation of fat or fluid. And growth involves more than mere change in size and form; from ovum to maturity, it is a gradual evolution with ever new functions and fresh responses. The body does not grow uniformly; if it did an adult would weigh 500 pounds. Inequality of increases in various parts of the body characterizes the human structure. It unfolds in spurts with alternating periods of rapid and slow progression, which form the so-called growth cycles, three of which characterize every mammal. There are three springing-up periods and three filling-out periods. Rapid infancy is followed by the slow preschool period; the period of second dentition is followed by slow childhood; rapid puberty is followed by slow adolescence. Paralleling in a living way the rhythm of the elements in nature, each action seems to be followed by a reaction, the one physical and the other mental, the one motor and the other emotional, the one stimulating and the other fatiguing, the one exhilirating and the other depressing.

Averages never portray the growth disturbances that are associated with the transition from springing-up periods to filling-out periods. For example, at about the sixth year of life the cutting of the second dentition is often accompanied by nervous disturbances as significant as those of the first dentition. There is a marked lengthening of the face, rapid development of the air sinuses in the face and rapid lengthening of the feet. The restlessness which parents and teachers often ascribe to the new adjustment of going to school may, as a matter of fact, be a natural consequence of developmental changes.

Making Allowances

THE period most neglected is pubescence, but its marked acceleration affects many structures. Of particular importance are the increase in the size of the muscles, the size of the heart and the development of the sex organs. The heart nearly doubles in size during this period and unless the cardiac development keeps pace with the general development there is danger of overstrain. The sex differentiation brings on new physiological and psychological problems. Poor posture is another striking deviation during this growth period, particularly in tall, thin, rapidly growing children with poor muscle tone. Such unfavorable manifestations of growth must be anticipated and met with whatever help is needed. But correct posture does not mean that all children should be built alike or look alike.

Yet mere measurement never reveals these profound cycles of growth. The only time in life when measurement alone embodies the tempo and trend of

growth is during the prenatal period. The remarkable uniformity of prenatal growth gives special value to measurements of the fetus. A child of average size is no more ideal than the largest or the smallest child of the same age group. Physical measurements alone can never be taken as final criteria for the individual child. Average measurements have been utilized in the emergency of war, in pestilence, in famine to determine whether children were being nourished adequately on emergency rations. When it is remembered that height-weight determinations were developed to determine the physical status of cross-sections of populations it becomes obvious that they cannot apply to the individual. Our real interest in children is not in their changes in height and weight but rather in their changing activities and behavior as prompted by the passage from one developmental period to the next.

Since the majority of American infants are mixtures of racial stocks, wide variations from the average birth weight are still to be considered normal. While the average birth weight of infants in the United States is a little over seven pounds, an infant weighing six pounds may be as normal as one weighing nine pounds at birth. This individual variation may continue to a greater or less degree throughout childhood. In the same way there is considerable variation in the length of the newborn, a difference attributable to sex, race and the type of parents. Normal infants gain approximately 200 per cent of the birth weight during the first year, half of which is gained during the first five months. But some infants double their birth weight nearer the tenth month. These are all approximate guides to which no individual infant should necessarily be expected to conform.

Varying Rhythms

GROWTH in weight is more variable than height. It depends upon the child's environment and upon the season of the year. Children, like flowers, grow fastest in the spring. Weight is gained most quickly in the late autumn and winter. When children gain in height they slow up in weight. Crudely stated the tendency is to attain first length and later width. There is a sort of competition between these two forces so that growth in width expresses itself once the length has been worn down, so to speak, and become slower. But growth in height is so regular, even during illness, that the child's height in later life can be predicted with accuracy. Tall children tend to put on weight at an earlier age than short children. The proportion between height and weight is more important than the relation to age.

The pattern of growth as determined by simple height and weight measurements merely includes the developmental course of the whole skeleton, of the extremities, of the chest and musculature. But these external structures do not necessarily parallel the growth of vital tissues and organs. Their course of growth is very different, but it is equally necessary to include it in evaluating the child's development.

Complex Patterns of Development

GENERAL or skeletal type of growth goes through the four phases outlined. Other types of growth in the body have been studied by Scammon. Neural development is extremely rapid in the early years, and structures following it—brain, skull, spinal cord, eyeball and pineal gland—attain almost adult size by the seventh year. A third group of structures with a separate growth rate includes the so-called lymphoid tissues, lymphatic glands, the tonsils and the thymus, which grow rapidly in infancy, slow up toward puberty and show a marked decline following maturity. A fourth mode of growth embodies the genital system. Its course is negligible in infancy, latent for the first decade and markedly rapid during puberty and adolescence. But even these four types of growth are mere crude representations of the complexity of the processes. There still remain certain structures some of which reveal combinations of these primary growth types while others follow their own pattern. Growth in the face and neck continues to maturity. Dentition is not completed until the twenty-first year with the cutting of the wisdom teeth.

What is most significant of all is the lack of correlation in the growth patterns of the very glands that regulate the processes of growth and development. The thyroid gland displays steady growth from birth to maturity, but assumes a larger size in regions remote from the sea where the iodine content is necessarily low. The pituitary body more or less parallels the course of the thyroid; the thymus follows the lymphoid type growth; the pineal gland, the neural type of growth. The suprarenal glands which lie in relation to the kidneys lose half their weight immediately after birth, remain stationary until the fifth year without regaining their birth weight until puberty. The uterus grows rapidly in the last months of antenatal life, loses considerably during the first weeks after birth, and does not commence to grow until the two years before the onset of menstruation.

This fact—that the growth patterns of the ductless glands exhibit differences in rate that go as high as a fivefold variation per unit of body weight—is the strongest argument against taking height and weight

alone as criteria for the degree of the child's development. What these measurements reveal may be called the *static* phase of growth, the mass the child has accumulated, the size he has attained for his age. The form of the child must necessarily be correlated with its function and this is the *dynamic* factor of growth. In the past it was left to fortune tellers and phrenologists to associate the type of behavior with the shape of the body, but science now points out that it is actually the relative development of all the child's tissues and organs which determines his body build or habitus. The child's constitution is the result of these two factors of growth energy—the static or capacity factor which determines his size; and the dynamic or intensity factor which determines the depth of developmental differentiation. A child is considered normal physically when he reveals no pathological disturbances which interfere with his functional integrity or with his patterns of growth development. No single standard measured in terms of organs or tissues or their aggregates will ever represent an individual child at any age, because as we have just seen, growth embraces many patterns and is never one dimensional.

Making the Most of Heredity

A CHILD'S body build is already manifest at birth. If the mother has been well throughout pregnancy the baby's intrauterine environment has been ideal physically, climatically, nutritionally, bacterially. It is not until the newborn begins to be exposed to a more difficult environment that we observe responses characteristic of his body build. Each baby reacts differently to the environment. But in spite of the marked contrast each may well be considered healthy. Both thrive so long as they are provided with the kind and amount of nutrients indispensable for superior growth. Wherever a particular child stands between these two extremes, his body build persists throughout all the developmental stages of childhood and on into maturity. The sooner parents have a clear picture of their child's type of body build, the less disturbed will they be by its developmental course, particularly as compared with friend's children or with friendless "standards." These two types are normal yet they are so different in bony framework, in chest measurements and in musculature that no conceivable treatment could distort them physically to conform to arbitrary norms. Not only is it important for parents to recognize and abide by the child's type of body build, but it is equally indispensable for schools, health stations, hygiene units and even hospital services to cease enforcing absurd standardization by averages in the manner of moulding machines.

Children are born free—not equal. They continue to grow in accordance with the body build that characterizes their racial and social groups. Veeder has shown that if they are tall at two they will be tall at twenty unless they are checked by severe illness or altered for the better or worse by environmental changes. Whether a child is to be short or tall, thin or fat, high strung or placid, depends almost entirely on inherited factors.

Interpreting the Facts

AVERAGE values of developmental attainments and dimensions are useful first approaches for orientation in relation to a cross-section of the child's life pattern. Once these values are used for comparison with the individual child, subsequent complete examination of the whole child by someone who is both skilled and sympathetic will still be necessary in order to interpret the basis of his alleged superiority or inferiority from the glorified average.

Even the most skilful medical supervision cannot exceed that of a service station which can never alter the fundamentals of each human mechanism. And certainly no simple measuring stick can ever supplant a mature medical mind in assessing a child's physical growth and development. The child must be repeatedly compared with his own individual progress before apparent deviation from averages can be considered significant. His body build in relation to the constitution of his parents, the functional adequacy of his respiratory, circulatory and digestive mechanisms, the acuity of all of his senses, the rate of responsiveness to everyday environmental conditions, the freedom from chronic sources of infection, the effectiveness of his mental activity, of his social behavior and his psychological and emotional stability—all these evaluations should be made periodically from birth on to determine true progress.

The essential quality of a human being is not life but individuality. Man's interest is in man—not mankind. This highly personal interest must be respected even by the physician. Hardy in his famous novel, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, writes thus of his heroine at twenty years: "For all her bouncing handsome womanliness you could sometimes see her twelfth year in her cheeks, or her ninth sparkling from her eyes; and even her fifth would flit over the curves of her mouth now and then." If so much can be seen in the expression of a face, surely we can envisage continuity as a fundamental principle in the child's development.

Living and Feeling

"As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he."

JESSIE TAFT

THERE is no factor of personality which is so expressive of individuality as emotion, none so antagonistic to generalization. It is by the emotional quality or pattern of the total personality that in the last analysis we differentiate one person from another, friend from foe, average from superior, foolish from wise. Think of your friends and the respects in which you find any two of them essentially unlike. Perhaps you will say one is less able than the other, or one is more beautiful to look upon, or one is more generous, but if you really pin yourself down to a discriminating analysis of the basis of your judgment, I think you will find that the difference lies in the quality, depth, completeness and spontaneity of the emotional life, not fundamentally in the appearance, the behavior or the intellect. An able mind can bore us, exemplary behavior leave us cold, beauty lose its charm, if not related dynamically to the emotions which are at the core of integrated, conscious personality and give it the essential quality or coloring to which we respond, not only with recognition but with an implicit acceptance or rejection.

We can always find reasons for loving this person and for disliking another apparently equally worthy individual. But the reasons are not causes; they merely support immediate response, which for us is the emotional truth about these particular persons. Therefore, while there are generalizations about emotion which are true for all children, actually the emotional sphere is the most untouchable aspect of any particular child, least subject to coercion, influence or leveling. It is the intensely personal, highly individualized and conscious quality of emotion which has made it so unprofitable a field for scientific research and has driven its investigators to the physiological interpretations and the purely behavioristic descriptions with which much of our modern psychology rests content. Only with the rise of the psychoanalytic approach to the individual and the increasing interest of social case work and mental hygiene in prevention or adjustment has emotion come into its own. Out of this recognition of emotion, as somehow the center of all problems of personal and social adjustment, have arisen two methods of attack which may seem more different than they really are.

One is the attempt to discover types and set standards for normality, to list desirable and undesirable emotions, and to suggest programs for promoting the socially valuable and discouraging the socially destructive. Some psychologists harbor grave doubts about the desirability of any emotions for civilized men. They are phenomena to be borne as part of our animal heritage but only as an inevitable burden on intelligent, controlled living. Fear, for instance, is quite generally condemned and treated as an unnecessary by-product to be avoided as far as possible by controlled conditioning of the earliest experiences. Jealousy, hatred and rage are to be placed under the ban and tolerated only until they can be stamped out or brought under perfect control. The positive emotions are little understood and only roughly differentiated. Often we can find no accepted terms to describe the infinite variety and shades of difference which characterize a rich emotional life. Emotion that falls in the positive field quickly becomes literary description—even in a psychology test. If we seek for emotional truths, we turn to the great creative personalities, who have affirmed their own emotions fearlessly. We can learn little from the scientist.

The second approach to the problem of emotion is that of the psychiatrist, the psychoanalyst and the social case worker. It has a certain advantage over the scientific method in that the emotions it deals with are real, not manufactured in the laboratory, and it admits from the start the unique and individual character of any particular emotional problem. However, it often loses this vantage ground for the study of emotion, because it assumes that it is necessary to cure or reform the individual in terms of an accepted norm; this is as vitiating to the individual as the scientist's averages. Since both the scientific and the mental hygiene approach leave something to be desired, we must turn elsewhere for further light.

Perhaps the truth is that we fear emotions, fear their uniqueness and their non-conformity, fear them

in ourselves since they proclaim our difference and fear them in others since we cannot control them. Perhaps scientist and therapist, like the rest of us, are blocked in their efforts to understand any given emotional state as it actually is, because in them too the underlying impulse, however restrained, is to check it, divert it or mould it into something else.

Giving Oneself Away

IN THESE fearful or repressive attitudes toward emotion the layman joins wholeheartedly. He, too, is always on guard against emotion, which betrays him to himself and to others as he really is, and often exposes him to more reality in the other person than he is ready to face. For the adult, as for the child, emotion spells danger. If you ask a patient in analysis why he objects to being angry, he may say that he is afraid of what his anger will bring out in retaliation, but more often he will confess that it hurts his pride to be vulnerable. Anger admits that he has been touched, that he has a weak spot. Jealousy and hate also are admissions of weakness, of negative attachment or bondage to another. Love itself, in its simplest form as a felt and admitted need, is usually violently resisted unless some affectional hold on its object is assured; for love too would put us at the mercy of another. Men traditionally scorn emotion, women have been branded as emotional with this same underlying implication of weakness. On the other hand strong spirits of all ages, men and women alike, have proclaimed their emotions vigorously and without apology. There must be a reason why the emotional life, which the creative individual affirms, is so often denied, feared or condemned by the scientist as well as by the layman.

The usual answer is that there are good emotions and bad ones, emotions that are useful and those that are useless if not harmful. It is right to cultivate joy, love, tenderness, sympathy, pity, and to root out fear, anger, hate, guilt and jealousy. The average parent works along these lines on an apparently sound, rational basis. It may trouble him perhaps, if he stops to think, that he minds so much these manifestations of fear or rage in his child, that they should call out such immediate powerful responses in himself. On the other hand he may pride himself on his imperturbability, while his child batters away at him in a fierce passion of desire to disturb this inhuman calm. The mental hygiene and child guidance influence has increased the self-consciousness of the enlightened parent and often the result has been an even greater shame for emotional upset in the family life, and still sterner efforts to remain as impartial and passionless as the ideal therapist is supposed to be.

In my opinion this attitude rests upon a complete misunderstanding of emotion and its role in living. It simply reflects the fear of life which is attached primarily to emotions as indices of vital response and with which every human being must cope in greater or less degree. It is useless to regard emotions as something which we can tolerate, cultivate or eliminate at will. They are as inherent in living as is thinking. They measure the degree of self-consciousness, the delay, or modification and organization which the developed individual is able to institute between raw impulses and final behavior; and they are therefore an inevitable accompaniment of the problem-solving intelligence and the organized will. Emotions are indices of felt values, both positive and negative, which become conscious only when there is a break, voluntary or enforced, between the will and its realization, a separation between desire and its object.

What Feelings Mean

IF THE self is negatively involved, if its impulses are checked, or its purposes interfered with, the value of these inhibited tendencies to action and their meaning to the whole self is measured by the degree of feeling which is stirred up by their being blocked. If the source of the interference is located outside of the self, and is felt as utterly alien and unreasonable, then the result is registered in feelings of irritation, anger, rage or blame. If the obstacle seems overpowering, perhaps fear, despair or dull depression will come to the fore.

Often, however, the period of delay is a result of choice, of determination which holds in check the impatient urges to immediate satisfaction for the sake of the deeper purposes of the total self. Then emotion becomes positive. The pain or fear of waiting is borne more or less willingly and the delayed or surrendered end may be represented in feelings of love, longing, tenderness, joy, impatience, excitement or the like, since final satisfaction—the union with the object or achievement of the desired end—is postponed or inhibited voluntarily, not blocked by a separating, external force.

As soon as some kind of effective action becomes possible, whether it be in the direction of successful accomplishment, emotional expression or escape from the insoluble problem, emotion ordinarily subsides. It is clear that the greatest awareness of self and "object" is at the point of the greatest blocking, where

the will stands out as quite separate and unable to relate itself to the outside reality. As soon as the will can flow freely into action, either direct or symbolic, it loses this intense consciousness of difference and isolation, and becomes one with the outer world in which it functions smoothly once more. To decry emotions then, even the unpleasant and separating, is to quarrel with self-consciousness itself. To insist that the child get rid of hate, anger, fear and jealousy, or even to deny them wholly from the start, is to put a penalty on becoming a conscious self. It is hard enough for the child to admit that outside forces are stronger and can defeat his will; but if the pain, fear and rage which such interference causes are not to be felt, what measure has he of the will's value to itself? Father and mother are among the defeating, thwarting objects to which the child must both oppose himself and yield. If he can bear to feel the hate which his parents' more powerful wills arouse, and they can bear to let him, he will also be capable of feeling the joy of resting upon their strength, instead of fighting against it blindly or yielding in abject submission.

The price one pays for success in denying negative feelings is a lessening of the ability to feel positively. Feeling is one. It goes with whatever the self admits as vitally important. To be able to feel, one must be willing to care. And to care is to expose one's self to loss or injury or defeat as well as to fulfillment and success. The goodness or badness of an emotion is determined, then, not by its pleasantness or unpleasantness, not by its positive or negative, uniting or separating character, but by the extent to which the individual accepts it as a part of himself, a necessary reflection of his own evaluation of living, instead of projecting it completely upon an external cause.

Emotions in Embryo

In the child or the undeveloped adult, positive feelings are hardly more social and lovable than negative; love in its first form has no more genuine regard for the object than hate. The child hates the mother when she refuses a request; the fault is in her. He sees, not himself hating, but his mother as a hateful person. When the mother is ill he realizes dimly the need he has for her and there may be a sudden sense of tenderness, a wish to do something for her, a painful longing for her ministrations, or at last, if the illness continues too long, resentment at her failure to meet his need or fear of total loss in death. In all of this you have a picture of emotions in embryo, undeveloped, unaccepted, unrealized. Only in the moment of tenderness does the child approach the point of love which sees the other as a separate person.

And how rare it is to see or to experience love for the other as he is, rather than love for the other as we need him to be for our own fulfillment. The mother herself has the same problem. She has to battle with her own need of the child, and the frustration which his growth and welfare imposes upon her use of him. We say a certain woman loves her child too much. We mean that she is not able to love him because she cannot control her own use of him for the sake of his growing self and its needs; that she cannot be herself or let her child become himself, but loses herself in him. Love, as far as it exists as a developed emotion, is a measure of one's acceptance of separation and separateness. It is an esteem for the object in itself and a recognition of one's own self as inevitably different which is possible only when the desire to possess in reality is voluntarily surrendered as incompatible with living. The impulse to possess need not be denied or rejected, but its expression can be controlled in favor of a deeper will to be free, if one is willing to feel his love and act his freedom.

Experience Is the Best Teacher

The difference between developed emotion and simple emotion is like that between organized responsible will and crude impulse. The impulse slips over into action with little consciousness, it is neither accepted nor rejected by the self; it just happens; and it is on that level that little children begin. The anger of the little child is normally momentary, has not much body and goes over quickly from the sense of being thwarted into explosive, irrelevant action, a scream, a kick, a blow. The little child does not think of himself as angry but of the object as bad. Unless he is allowed to be angry, even though he is not allowed to hurt some one else, he will never learn where the feeling belongs. The task of the parent is not to stop the emotion, but to help the child to be responsible for it, to bear it. The parent has no right to deny the reality of the child's fear, his hate or his rage, since the child, if he is true to himself, has to feel what he feels and cannot change his feelings to order. The parent has a right, however, if not an obligation, to check destructive acts unless they are confined to comparatively harmless emotional expression. The child may hit the toy dog in lieu of the parent, may call names or make faces. These are natural and necessary outlets for the violent feeling which has to go

somewhere and which no child and few adults can keep inside completely. But the child may not kill the cat or stick pins in his baby sister however much he would like to. And if you, as a parent, can bear to admit and help him to admit what and how he feels without too much denial, he will require far less checking in actual behavior.

Blowing Off Steam

It is safer to feel hate than to act out the unconsciously murderous impulse. The murderer in cold blood is he who cannot bear within his own soul the tension of his fear and hate, but must project them blindly upon another person as if he would rid himself of death and destruction within by setting it up outside of himself. This is action catharsis which works too finally and too really to be remedial for the self or safe for the other. Emotional expression is tempered, it is not raw impulse, but impulse which has come through the medium of the conscious self as far as there is one.*

Emotion then is a safeguard against destructive behavior when the self can grow to the point where it is able to feel its own contradictory impulses consciously and accept of its own will the burden of responsibility which they impose. The child as a beginning, undeveloped self will tend to impulsive, inconsistent, unrecognized action, rather than to emotion and emotional expression, and to the negative rather than to the positive emotions. Activity of any kind is the simplest and most effective escape from feeling, particularly from fear; while anger and rage as the most easily felt and expressed emotions provide the quickest emotional relief. It is interesting to note how easily and naturally the child interprets any emotional disturbance as anger or aversion. Many children will not admit fear, although dislike is easily expressed; this is astonishingly true of adults also, despite the fact that fear is an omnipresent reality for anyone who lets himself know it. Strong positive emotion is almost equally unbearable.

Thus we hear a five-year-old reiterating her grief for the death of a dearly loved parent in an explosive "I'm so mad, my father died."

Often after a painful absence a child rejects on first meeting his most beloved friend or possession. Parents are frequently hurt at this apparent lack of appreciation or positive feeling, when it is the pain of feeling at all which the child does not know how to handle, or his embarrassment at the flood of feeling let loose upon him by the parent which drowns out his own lesser response.

* Rank, Otto. Modern Education: A Critique of Its Fundamental Ideas. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. 1932. Chapter III.

If by denial, reproof or overwhelming counter-feeling, the parent discourages too effectively his beginning efforts to meet experience with emotional recognition of its value, the child will take care of his feeling reactions in one of several ways. He may turn them back to the physiological level where they do not humiliate him by referring to the real object of his reaction, but are just sensations in his own body—experienced perhaps as nausea, headache or constipation, which no one can deny or blame him for. Or he may utilize them in habits which he seems unable to control even when he tries but which are nevertheless very effective in conquering the parent. He may express them more directly in aggressive behavior or hyper-activity. Or perhaps he may try to deny all feeling in spells of lethargy and indifference which resemble depression. You will find that each individual has a typical way of dealing with what he is unwilling or unable to feel, but no one outlet is chosen to the exclusion of all others. Physiological functions, activity, symptomatic behavior are all utilized in some degree by everyone to drain off potentially painful or fearful emotions.

Attempting the Impossible

It is clear then that to discuss norms and averages in the emotional life is difficult if not impossible. Behavior we may limit rightfully in terms of social necessity but who can decide what anyone ought to feel or what he will actually feel? And if we could decide, how could we enforce it? That people differ in emotional capacity as well as in emotional development seems to me as true as that people differ in intellectual equipment and development. There certainly are individuals who are superior, or at least very different from the average person in their emotional sensitivity, depth and spontaneity, as well as in their capacity to sustain emotional tension over long periods for creative expression. There also seem to be individuals who have potential emotional superiority but who are caught in an insoluble conflict with life and do not develop their powers, just as some persons never seem able to utilize to the full their natural endowments in the intellectual field.

With the emotions, as with health and intellect, we have the problem of original equipment as against the results produced by the actual experience of the individual in interaction with life as he finds it. This will differ for every child. Hence we can no more set a standard for what is emotionally normal, in the sense of desirable, for a particular child, than we can determine by norm what he as an individual ought to become. We can, however, help to free the particular

child to become himself in his own terms at least emotionally, if we can divorce our rejection of his specific behavior from a rejection of the child himself. Yet that is the way it feels to the child when the emotions which constitute his intensest sense of self are condemned.

You ask how this can be done. Certainly by no cut and dried formula of child training. Emotion responds only to emotion; the self goes out and expands only in the presence of a respect and acceptance which it can feel. The child has a right to experience not only his own feelings but the emotional reactions which he arouses in the parents, to feel his own power over them as well as theirs over him, to know their momentary hates, fears and rages, as well as their supporting love and tenderness. This is not destructive unless the parent, by projecting his emotion too completely, forces the child to carry an impossible burden, or perhaps monopolizes the field so that the child's less powerful and confident feelings are given no opportunity for expression.

In other words, if the parent respects his own emotions and is willing to feel in the presence of the child the anger as well as the love which the child is, or should be, able to arouse in him, then the child too will find it not so hard to express the hurt or the fear or the sense of injustice which otherwise he would tend to hide even from himself. I do not mean to imply here that the parent should let anger govern his treatment of the child or permit his love to smother him or rule him; but that he should be able, without guilt, to admit and bear as feeling this relation to his child which, by its very depth and reality, exposes him to periods of pain and defeat. If this seems to give the child too great an advantage, since it lets him feel immediately the human weakness and limitation of the parent, remember that the only way the child can learn to bear the strength and weakness which belong to man and are the source of his deepest conflict, is through his experience with adults who have accepted both. What the child needs in his parents is not the perfect understanding and unmoved calm of the therapist, but contact with living, responsive, changing persons who are not afraid to feel in relation to him or to each other. We need not worry that our child feels more strongly or differently from ourselves or other children. Nor is there need to fear any norm or label which science or psychiatry can suggest. But that he should fail to experience as deeply as he might is certainly a cause not only for the study of the child's problem but for a heart-searching examination of our own capacity for meeting life without too great denial of its positive or negative values. For if the parents are living their own emotional lives with a fair degree of responsibility and acceptance, the child too will learn in time to feel what he feels when he feels it, and thus gain the courage of himself. For to feel is to live, but to reject feeling through fear is to reject the life process itself.

No Two Alike

Variety is the most hopeful characteristic of intelligence; even those of "equal" mental capacity are never the same.

GEORGE D. STODDARD

IF there were a man so intellectually freakish as to be able to measure the length of a surface, but not its breadth, I am quite sure that he would never be asked to make measurements or compute areas. Although the word *average*, as applied to the intellectual stature of a child, comes readily to our lips, it is as incomplete to use *average* without *variability* in the field of mental measurement as it is to use length without breadth in linear measurements.

Even people who accept the term simply as one expression of central tendency have astonishingly confused ideas of its real implications. It is not my purpose here to attempt to analyze the meaning of statistical devices for measuring intelligence, but only, by a clumsy substitution of words for mathematical symbols, to clarify the concept of average in the realm of intellectual development.

The supposition throughout the standardized mental scale is that it is something like an interview

abridged and standardized; and the assumption is that a much longer interview, or better yet, a thorough inspection of the mental life and the mental habits of the child, as he solves the problems about him, would give a similar picture of his position among his fellows. Up to a certain point we have considerable evidence that the tests are fairly successful in doing just this. But this is totally different from claiming that tests parallel the realities of outside life or predict what a given child will make of it.

It is hard to get much agreement on what mental tests measure. Some say they measure what they *do* measure, and that is all there is to it. They may be considered the agnostics among mental testers. At the other extreme are those who state that they measure an inborn, ineradicable capacity to mature along a fixed continuum of mental growth for such time as has been previously determined in the organism, at a rate unaffected by external conditions, and toward a maximum which is on the knees of the gods. Most of us fall somewhere in between these two extremes.

I believe we could get quite a few people to support the following statements:

(1) that mental tests do differentiate fairly accurately among children in the age range six to twelve years;

(2) that intelligence as measured is only roughly constant, given a constant environment;

(3) that the relation between physique and intellect is essentially nil;

(4) that all successful measurement of intelligence has depended upon tapping the higher thought processes;

(5) that the plateau which adults seem to strike in the latter portion of the mental test does not necessarily indicate that intelligence has ceased to grow, since it may be taking directions not provided for in the tests; and finally

(6) that the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system are far beyond the psychological analyses or the functional realities.

More than the Sum of Its Parts

You cannot build a concept of what is measured by a simple summation of the separate parts of any test. Terman states that what we have measured is the ability to do abstract thinking. Binet, earlier and with reference to the same methods and to some of the same materials, stated that he was measuring the child's ability to select a goal and to work purposefully toward it, and to exercise self-criticism in working out solutions. Out of the opinions and experiences of workers in the field I have built up a definition of what is meant by intelligence.

Characteristics of Intelligence

The definition follows: Intelligent behavior is behavior characterized by

(a) difficulty
(b) complexity
(c) abstractness
(d) economy
(e) adaptiveness to a goal
(f) social value
(g) the emergence of originals. (This is to be likened to a chemical change. The scarcity of this phenomenon places a high value on it. It is the intellectual flower. But all the evidence we have seems to indicate that it usually springs from a fortunate combination of the six attributes previously listed.)

A person is intelligent to the extent that he is given *habitually* to such mental activity. These characteristics of intelligent behavior are not separate, but obviously are interlocked in a highly intricate fashion. They are simply sufficiently different from each other to form analyzable units of a functioning whole.

We are not sure that intelligence as thus defined retains its heaven-sent stability throughout life. We are beginning to suspect that Jennings' statements about the interaction of heredity and environment may apply in the field of mental development; that is, the interaction of capacity and training probably affects the process of growth from the very beginning. For example, we are accustomed to think of frogs as having two eyes, one on each side of the head, but I have seen frogs produced in our zoological laboratories in which one of the eyes was moved around more or less at the command of the experimenter. It can even be made to appear in the center of the back by well known methods of treatment. Similarly, tadpoles can be so treated chemically that they never become frogs, but just grow into old tadpoles.

True enough, we have not conducted any such dramatic experiments toward the changing of child life, but some of our educational procedures have operated to produce astonishing results. An example of this is found in the recent discoveries of Wellman with respect to children who have gone through the preschool laboratories of the Iowa Research Station. It was found that, contrary to expectation and to a substantial mass of writing on this general question, the I Q's of children have been significantly increased. Thus for a group which had started below

average (that is, with I Q below 90) the gain was 28 I Q points by the fifth test, the tests being given at six-month intervals. The average group (I Q 90 to 110) gained 22 points from the first to seventh test. The superior group (I Q 120-129) gained 12 points up to their fifth test and then dropped on their seventh test to 3 points above their starting point. The very superior group (I Q 130-139) came out 5 points ahead of their starting point, and the genius group (I Q 140 or over) ended just where they began. Questions, not as yet answered, arise immediately. Has the influence of practice been taken into account? Are these gains fictitious or are they accompanied by other differences characteristic of these mental levels? Will the gains be retained on up through school life and into adulthood?

Let us now turn to the question of how we should interpret individual departures from the general averages. Just what does it mean to have an I Q of 30, of 80, of 120, of 160? The adult with an I Q of 30 is a kindergarten child mentally, but he is much less than that, for it is one thing to be a kindergartner in the company of one's peers, and quite another thing to have that ability and that outlook lodged in the full sized frame of the human adult. In fact, the problems are so different that only a queer use of terms permits us to say that any adult has the mind of a child. The mind of the average three-year-old child, while not comprehending many of the things about him, is adequate for the sheltered condition in which he finds himself. It is fresh, curious and imaginative. None of these adjectives applies to the adult imbecile.

School Misfits

As we go up the scale to deviate nearer the normal, the problems become less acute for the individual, but even more serious for society as a whole, because the number of such deviates grows to tremendous size. I refer to the morons and dull normals who do so much of the work of the world. They expect little enough in the way of financial remuneration or social position, and they get little. The rather bitter chapter of what the conventional school has forced upon these unwilling minds during the last few centuries is yet to be written. Loving freedom of action, they are made to sit over books; hating thinking, they are made to repeat the thoughts of others; unable to grasp the subtle interplay of human lives and human institutions, they are brought into raw contact with them. When at last, marked as fools or failures, they are thrown out of this hateful situation, they often rise to positions of personal dignity through their own efforts in honest labor or in the learning of a craft.

Our great school systems from kindergarten to college are adjusted to the mental demands of the "average" child. Everything in the conventional system fits in beautifully, or at least it does after a brief period of form fitting while the child is still a neophyte. He may rebel a little, but not too much, and the ordinary school is well equipped to handle the situation.

The Spice of Life

In our more progressive schools we may expect a type of individual variation which will be something new under the sun—the boy or girl of only average mental ability who is nevertheless curious and informed, sensitized to art, music and literature, and not unacquainted with some of the major problems of society. In my judgment we have vastly underrated the total personality resources of such children. Average, or below average, these children have often displayed a creditable amount of curiosity at the preschool age. It is inconceivable that a better understanding of childhood combined with better teaching and guidance could not bring out the qualities of these children in such a way as to preserve and expand their original talents. At present the same school system which shows a vast resentment at the inability of groups of children to learn arithmetic, science or language with high facility is curiously indifferent to the inability of its own teachers to recognize non-intellectual capacity for personality or esthetic accomplishment.

For mental deviates who are somewhat above the average, or are even designated as "bright," the school is their particular oyster. And if they learn to cooperate either mentally or socially with others it is in spite of anything which most schools do for them. The usual procedure is still to place a group of animated children in close physical contact with each other, but under the painful necessity of playing dumb. They are supposed not to talk to each other, as if human intercourse might somehow disturb the flow of knowledge from teacher to child. Happily these days are over in the more progressive centers, but the battle is still raging on many fronts.

It is interesting to observe what this may do to our concept of average with respect to school personality. Forty years ago the average child doing his work in an average way did not talk to his fellow pupils, engaged in practically no mental activities outside the schoolroom and was not encouraged to undertake

(*Continued on page* 118)

Book Reviews

Behavior Aspects of Child Conduct. By Esther Loring Richards. The Macmillan Co. 299 pp., 1932.

After years of experience as Physician-in-Charge of the Dispensary at the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Dr. Richards has given the public the benefit of her observations, her knowledge and her philosophy in an unusually readable and interesting book which makes a real contribution to the ranks of first-rate books on child training. It is of special interest because the author keeps the emphasis throughout focused on the need of an harmonious understanding among all agencies dealing with the child. Dr. Richards never fails to include the social worker and the teacher with the parent and physician in working out child adjustment.

Dr. Richards elucidates from many angles her central thesis that the presentday tendency is *not to judge conduct, but to interpret behavior,* and she shows through a wealth of case material the many factors, constitutional and environmental, which play their part in producing conduct. For those who would argue over the relative importance of heredity and environment, Dr. Richards' case histories are illuminating, showing how, in order to arrive at his opinion of the case, the psychiatrist must take into consideration the early developmental data of his patients, their health records, their habit development in early childhood, school factors, facts concerning the social and economic life of the family and family history.

Case histories, showing how the child of good native abilities can be ruined by bad management and how the child physically or emotionally handicapped can be helped, give valuable insight into the importance of early training. Parents have been told over and over again in current child study literature that the child must be considered as a whole; this book tells them in a clear and practical way why this point of view is worth so much repeating.

The chapter on "Fears of Childhood" admirably elucidates Dr. Richards' statement that "behavior must be interpreted not judged" by revealing the many different causes of fears in childhood, and the need for understanding these causes before proceeding to modify behavior. The chapters on "Physical Handicaps and their Relation to Behavior" and "Handicaps of Constitutional Endowment" are specially to be recommended. The book stands so squarely on its own merits that it seems hardly necessary to mention that it consists of lectures given in 1929 under the auspices of the Baltimore District of the Child Study Association of America. Prepared and delivered before a large group of parents, teachers and social workers, it is admirably adapted and warmly recommended for use by study groups. Each individual chapter may well form the basis for discussion on subjects vital to parents, teachers and all those interested in the interpretation of child conduct.

On the whole the book is not only written with literary style but also with profound understanding both of psychological principles and also of human nature. It abounds in sane, simple clarification of many of the problems of everyday family living and will be heartily welcomed by everyone dealing with children and young people.

ALICE FRANK KOHN.

Written by 29 experts for the use of parents, and all others interested in children.

OUR CHILDREN

A *Handbook for Parents*

Edited by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg

First printing, October, 1932
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Parents' Questions and Discussion

These pages, based on the foregoing articles, are presented for the use of individuals or of groups having this topic on their regular programs. Questions and discussion are taken from study group records.

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT

CÉCILE PILPEL, Director — JOSETTE FRANK, Editor

Is it a cause for concern if a child of two does not talk?

Deviations from the "norm" of language development often appear in perfectly normal children, and all other things being equal, need occasion no concern. At two years the child's language usually includes combinations of words in short sentences. But a child of this age who has only a few isolated words may be entirely normal. From the child's vocalization, long before the time for the actual formulation of words, one may know whether to suspect any physical vocal or oral defect, or mental retardation. Physical and psychological examinations would then determine that.

Where this is eliminated as a possible cause there may be emotional factors which enter in. Insecurity, overdependence or repression may delay maturation in this respect. On the other hand, the child may be finding such full satisfaction in motor activity that he does not yet find the need for verbal expression. Or, again, the adults in the environment may be taking care of his wants so fully that he has little occasion for making verbal demands. If we can assure ourselves, from the child's behavior in other respects, that he is not under any strain, we can safely assume that talking will come at the right time *for him.*

At what age should a child be expected to dress himself? What can be done when a child is below average in this respect?

We know that most children make efforts in the direction of self-help long before they are able actually to accomplish any of the processes. Just how long it will take to develop the necessary skills will depend partly on the factor of the child's interest (some children are less concerned than others with this process) and partly on the question of muscular coordination, which develops at widely different rates of speed in different children. The type of clothing worn may also be a factor. Sometimes, too, we find children—in whom "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak"—struggling with buttons and leggings long before they can really manage these things. In such cases we can give them opportunities to try, and just enough unobtrusive help to keep them from feeling frustrated. Where a child of three does not make any effort to dress himself, we must, of course, assist him, and at the same time continue our efforts to interest him, without chiding or nagging. Besides this we would do well to help such a child along other lines of interest to develop his muscular coordination—if that seems faulty—and his sense of independence and responsibility.

Should efforts be made in early childhood to change left-handedness?

Though intensive studies of handedness have been made, there are many questions still undetermined. Left-handedness has been found to be relative: that is, left-handed children have a varying amount of ability with the right hand as well, which can be developed. So far as we know at present, however, it seems wise not to interfere with the young child's natural tendencies in this matter, lest we disturb certain interrelated mental and motor coordinations. When the child is older—perhaps at school age—and can begin to appreciate the desirability of being right-handed in a right-handed world, his cooperation might be enlisted in conscious efforts to change his handedness. It is felt that such efforts could then be made safely, without causing confusion.

A boy of ten is conspicuously small for his age. How can we help his adjustment to others nearer the accepted "normal" size, avoiding feelings of inferiority?

If the parents are themselves painfully self-conscious about the child's stature, unable to accept his size as being normal *for him,* the child is

likely to be kept aware of this and to feel it as a failure of some sort to live up to what is expected of him. On the other hand, if he is accepted and secure at home he will be more likely to approach situations and people with confidence, and to utilize to best advantage whatever special aptitudes he has in playing and working with others. Very often children of small stature are more agile and deft than their taller companions. Where this is so the child is not likely to feel his size as a handicap, for he finds he can hold his own in playing with the bigger boys.

Two sisters, fourteen and sixteen, are not equally well endowed with the "social graces." How can a growing antagonism between these two be handled?

Such situations as this demand not merely skilful handling but a genuine sympathy and insight. There is needed, primarily, the parents' acceptance of and love for both children, without reference to the successes of the one or the failure of the other. The existence of differences can be frankly recognized without the implication of better or worse. The girl who is less well endowed must be helped to develop whatever particular aptitudes she may have, and to respect these as valid. She must realize that social success is not the only goal worth striving for, and that she has something to offer in other fields. If both girls are equally secure in their parents' affection they will not find it necessary to compete for this and it will then be possible for them to find common interests and develop real appreciation of one another's differences.

If no standard or "average" of performance is set for children at school how will they develop ambition?

The child does need some standards against which to measure his achievements, but these should be standards *for him*, based upon his known capacity and potentialities. There are definite ways and means of arriving at an approximate knowledge of any child's capacities. He should not then be asked to meet the standards of what other children—no matter how many of them—can do, but be helped rather to work toward a goal or standard of achievement which he knows is not impossible for him, but which is still sufficiently challenging.

STUDY MATERIAL: THE "AVERAGE" CHILD

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. PHYSICAL MEASUREMENT
   - Norms of growth at various age levels
   - Progressive signs of maturation
   - Significance of variation from the norm
2. MENTAL MEASUREMENT
   - Tests of native capacity
   - Achievement tests
   - Deviations from the normal
     - Superiority
     - Defect
3. NORMS OF EMOTION
   - Concept of normal
   - Need for expression
   - Danger of over-reaction
4. THE "AVERAGE" AS MEASURE OF A GROUP
   - Variability
   - Misunderstanding of average as measure of an individual

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of grading children according to the I. Q.'s
2. There is popular superstition to the effect that a weakness in one trait is usually compensated by superiority in another. What facts are there to substantiate or refute this?
3. How would you judge whether a child is physically normal or below average?
4. In what way can children of the same family, but of widely different mental capacity, be given optimum environment and training?
5. How can a child's anger and rage impulses be given the expression needed for wholesome release without undermining the spirit of the home?

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News and Notes

IN opening the Conference which was called by New York University on November 15-17 to consider the subject "The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order," Chancellor Brown explained that all the speakers had been left "free to say what is in their minds to say" and that although he did not know that any new solution would be offered, he did hope that some prophetic word might be spoken that would make for better universities, and for a better social order. Although many divergent points were presented as to the function of a university, every speaker implied or emphasized the point that it is to the university the world must look for intelligent leadership as well as scientific research. Throughout the Conference ran the reiterated criticism of the cloistered and specially privileged attitude of the university and the demand that it accept a more active role in world affairs in three all-important aspects—economic, governmental and spiritual.

Universities and World Affairs

At the dinner meeting which concluded the Conference, Chancellor Brown, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Henry Sloane Coffin and Walter Lippman summarized the purpose of the Conference under the topic—"The University in the Changing World."

"Universities cannot change the world," said Walter Lippman, "but they can be like leaven in the community." Dr. Butler urged that they must be "truly liberal" and Dr. Coffin said that "if university graduates are to live and do business on Main Street, it is the universities' task to see that they are not echoes of its opinion. We would not have them disgrace Main Street, but honor it by enriching it with wiser judgments and more sensitive consciences."

The Year's Best Books for Children

Children's Books were the subject of discussion at a meeting held on December 6 at the Child Study Association. The speakers were Hendrik Willem Van Loon who discussed significant aspects of the modern age as these must be reflected in children's books, and Frederic G. Melcher who reviewed the changes that have taken place in the past ten years in children's book making.

The meeting opened the Association's annual exhibit, presenting the Children's Book Committee's selection of the year's best books. There were included also a loan exhibit of foreign books, a selection of some inexpensive editions, and a group of prints suitable for children.

Teaching World-Mindedness in the Schools

Under the sponsorship of the Education Committee of the Massachusetts Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a travel exhibit of methods and materials for teaching world-mindedness in the schools has taken shape. It includes assembly programs, plays, pageants, games, poems, songs, stories, posters, book lists, information on school international clubs, and material for both special projects and teaching incidental to other subjects. In addition to the actual books, pamphlets and posters in the exhibit, there are in each division bibliographies of additional material. The material is graded for elementary, intermediate, junior high school, high school and adult use.

Coming Events

Two symposia are to be held at the Headquarters of the Child Study Association in January. Harry Allen Overstreet, Henry Neumann, Cécile Pilpel and Everett Dean Martin, chairman, will participate in the meeting on "Character Training—Direct and Indirect Moral Training" scheduled for Thursday, the 12th, at 8:30 P. M.

"Health in Relation to Personality" will be discussed on Tuesday, the 31st, at 2:30 P. M., by three experienced physicians. Donald B. Armstrong will act as chairman, Ira S. Wile will discuss health from the physical standpoint and James S. Plant, in relation to the emotions.

Music and the Home

A course of six weekly meetings on "The Influence of the Home in a Child's Music Education" will be conducted under the supervision of the Music Committee of the Child Study Association. The speakers, Geraldine Aitken, Doris Champlin, Emanuel Elston, Willys Kent, Rose Jockwig and Peter Dykema, will discuss rhythms, in-

NEW UNIT GROUPS

Beginning in February

Subjects of greatest interest to parents and teachers will be discussed in groups meeting weekly for five sessions each, under the leadership of staff members of the Child Study Association . . . . . Character, Discipline, Habit Formation, Sex Education and Learning are among the topics to be included . . . . . Study group members who wish to supplement their study, or others who are interested in the psychology of childhood and in family relationships will find in these groups an intensive study course . . . . . Detailed announcement sent upon request.

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221 W. 57 St., N. Y.

struments, singing, the development of music in the home and the use of the victrola, radio and mechanical piano.

The registration will be $2.50 for Association members and $3.50 to non-members. For additional information write to the Study Group Department of the Child Study Association, 221 West 57 Street, New York City.

Schools Committee

This year the Schools Committee of the Child Study Association will make a study of the ways in which schools are developing social attitudes in children toward home, school, community and world relationships. Each one of the more than forty members of the Committee will visit and report on her own school and on any others in which she is particularly interested. The object of these visits is not so much to get a report on the school, as to get a better understanding of the school itself. In order that the work of the Committee may proceed with the full knowledge and cooperation of the schools, the Committee sends a statement of its plans for a year to the heads of schools at the beginning of the school year. In the spring, after the reports have all been made, the Committee sends the heads of schools a brief summary and invites them to meet with the Committee to discuss the summary and to get further helpful suggestions from the schools. The purpose of this Committee is to help parents understand just what the schools are trying to do, so that they may be more cooperative.

Leadership Training in Baltimore

Leadership training in the Baltimore District of the Child Study Association is both intensive and extensive. One part of the program allows for weekly meetings of field leaders to discuss current matters related to their study groups, with the directors and staff members of the important schools in the city participating. The study includes observations in these schools, public and private. The group also meets with the chairmen of all committee chapters and classes in the district. The subject for study this season is the relationship between the parent education movement and the objectives of other organizations in the state and city which deal with family welfare and child care.

The Baltimore branch inter-community child study groups will hold their second mass meeting of the season on January 9, 1933, at 8:30 P. M. Dr. Esther Loring Richards of the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of the Johns Hopkins Hospital will be the speaker.

Denatured Literature

To those who year after year are entrusted with the selection of the "best books for children," the passage of time may bring confusion rather than clarification as to the just basis of such a selection. A book today, though it need not point a moral in the old-fashioned way, is still tacitly expected to depict socialized forms of conduct; to be free from the sensational and the terrifying, and to conform to a "mental hygiene point of view." It is this latter point which makes the problem puzzling.

This year a Christopher Morley translation of the old German children's classic, *Max and Moritz*, appeared, in which unfortunately something of its old-time deviltry and provincial vulgarity was lost in the Anglicizing. The joy, however, with which young and old received this book was equalled only by the perennial reception of *Streuwelpeter* by all children who are fortunate enough to find it in their native tongue. The universality of its appeal is attested to by the eagerness with which the comic strips, the spiritual descendants of such books, are greeted every day by millions. Similarly mankind rejoices in a host of stories in which folk are bad or foolish in a simple way and get punished in a simple way, or play crude jokes on each other in a simple way. It is these tales which focus attention on the fact that children from age to age revel in these extravagant adventures of aggression, and even cruelty, adventures which they rarely put into practice or perhaps would never consciously care to. Is joy in such matters just part of "the old Adam" in us, which calls for peremptory stamping out, or must we consider that these primitive impulses may need a certain amount of "living through?" Does such a vicarious and therefore guiltless method of participation purge us to some extent of these impulses, making it less necessary to enact them in reality? Is it the moral sensitiveness of adults which is frightened, and not the children at all?

There is a doleful tendency in children's literature, hastening it toward a realm of sweetness and light, in which only the good, the pure, the beautiful and the wholesome are to be recognized. Educators, perhaps, would eventually admit children to the knowledge of evil in the world, but from the beginning only as something to be deplored and remedied. The question we ask ourselves is whether our children are never to be permitted, even in literature, to *feel* hate and anger, or to *experience* the love of power, aggression and revenge. When, and to what extent should parents sanction, when and to what extent deny the validity of such experience? For such rea-

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sons, many fairy tales are today condemmed, both for their cruelty and because they are said to deal with an unreal world—or one that is at least factually unreal. Folk tales, however, the most abiding of them, concern themselves eternally with the emotional verities, and from this source derive their peculiar power to charm the human race. Civilized adults may shudder at two children shoving an old woman to her death in an oven. But to the naive mind of the child, such an act is merely the joyful achievement of the desire to punish and remove the bothersome adult who denies him his sugarplum world. What more real (however unworthy) than the emotions which underlie the story of Cinderella? The destruction of our enemies! Power for ourselves! Yet a modern version must end on an edifying note:

"Now, although the step-mother and sisters had been so cruel to her, Cinderella was kind to them. She had them come to live at the palace. And there even the sisters grew to be kind and everyone loved them as much as they loved Cinderella."

In our folk lore from Biblical sources, liberties are also in progress. Because most adults, however rightly, have discarded a God who is capable of punishing his children's wickedness by drowning them in a flood, children too must now be denied this essentially primitive and therefore suitable conception. In a *Noah's Ark* of this year God is abolished altogether and we are given a denatured version of the story, in which Noah (in a wholly naturalistic way) foresees the coming cataclysm by means of astronomical instruments and its passing in the same manner. To me, Noah's Ark without God is as pallid as Little Red Riding Hood without the wolf. It appears that we have become almost as afraid to mention the Deity as our grandmothers were to mention sex, and modestly avert our eyes whenever He appears with a touch of primitive power and splendor.

We are well aware of the arguments against the emphasis of punishment in children's lives, realizing that there are some who for reasons of their own constitutions or experiences, may be initially so burdened as to make it unwise to permit them access to literature which will only add to this burden. While they should have every consideration, we can only raise the question whether the rank and file of children cannot assimilate without harm and use with profit—Grimm and all—a literary diet emotionally more virile than we give them today. We wonder whether vitally experiencing and being permitted frankly to enjoy in childhood emotions which must be repressed or at best redirected in adult life, may not produce humans healthy enough and vigorous enough to make the most of their emotional endowment.

ANNA W. M. WOLF

No Two Alike

(*Continued from page* 111)

any. The good boy was the boy who was good in school. This particular halo has existed so long as to frustrate any attempt to get ratings of school children by teachers. If a boy does not do good school work, it has been shown repeatedly that teachers cannot consider him strong, healthy, interesting, of good character or of sound mind. First he must do good work in school and then, paradoxically enough, all these other virtues are easily added unto him. But in future years, and already to some extent, the child to be considered truly unfortunate may be the one who sits quietly with nothing to say to his fellow pupils or to his teachers or guides, with no interest in playing hookey to airport, river, woods or mountains, with no ability to cooperate in school or community ventures, with no workshop or library to supplement school facilities. Our concept of average changes with the social mores, and so does our concept of what is plus and what is minus.

Let us review a few of the misconceptions which have grown up about mental measurement.

(1) *That a child found average in a mental test will irrevocably remain at average.* This is not true.

(2) *That mental variability is of small range.* The mental difference between an eight-year-old child of 70 I Q and an eight-year-old child of 150 I Q is almost unbelievable.

(3) *That variability in the infant and preschool years is negligible.* We know that such variability is great and exceedingly important.

(4) *That there are well fixed sex differences in mental ability.* What evidence we have indicates that there is a real difference in English language and perhaps in the beginnings of literary performance in favor of the girls; and that conversely, there is a real difference in mathematics and science in favor of the boys. These seem to go on up through university levels. As to general mental differences, the evidence is not so clear. Girls tend to do better than boys under the usual conditions of schooling from grade school to college, but this may not be a source of credit either to the girls or to the schools.

There is something of all children in each individual child. But there is something unique to be discovered in the great mass of combinations and interrelations forming *each child.* This discovery and its cultivation are the work of the educator-artist. Neither science nor art should be disdained, for in these two splendid servants we have, in effect, the body and the soul of progressive education.

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In the Magazines

Adolescent Education. By Floyd Dell. Progressive Education, November 1932.

A critical view of our high schools from the point of view of what the writer considers to be the current emotional incentives to the study of academic subjects. Challenging suggestions are offered for changes in the curriculum.

Child and Universe. By Florence Brewer Boeckel. Child Welfare, December 1932.

An interesting article on how to bring "children into the realm of what is unchangingly true and basic for all people everywhere under the sun." The means suggested are study of transportation and communication, international trade, man's life on earth, scientific research, and so on. The author cites specific plans to interest children in the world around them.

A Child Asks, a Mother Answers, and Both Learn a Lot. By Helen Follett. Good Housekeeping, December 1932.

The development of childhood interests and experiences from infancy through the tenth year in an interesting narrative.

Cultivating Truthfulness. By William E. Blatz. The Parents' Magazine, December 1932.

Both attitudes and understanding on the part of the adult are stressed. The development of mutual respect and confidence and an intelligent interpretation of the motivation of the child's behavior are shown to be equally essential.

The Effect of Current Economic Conditions on the School Program. By A. J. Stoddard. The Vocational Guidance Magazine, December 1932.

Answering the varied proposals for reducing expenditures for education, the writer warns that "the education of the youth of our nation is a continuous obligation," and that "good schools in a later generation do not repay the previous generation for their loss through an inefficient and inadequate system of education."

The Kindergarten and Nursery School. By George D. Stoddard. The Journal of the National Education Association, December 1932.

The offerings of the modern nursery school and kindergarten are outlined, including play facilities, assistance in habit formation, assistance in problems of nutrition and health, provision for social development, assistance in preventing and eliminating behavior maladjustment, esthetic factors (meaning introduction of child to the arts), an advancing program (gradual introduction of responsibility and academic activity), parent education and parent freedom (without depriving the parent of essential relationships). The writer also discusses the comparative economic value of both preschool training and college training.

Lo, the Poor Introvert. By Dorothy Canfield. Harpers Magazine, December 1932.

The extrovert and introvert are considered in their social and economic setting. The pressure of uniformity and conformity, class and mass attitudes as they affect the introvert type are interestingly considered.

The Moral World of the Child. By LeRoy E. Bowman. Religious Education, October 1932.

A constructive discussion pointing out necessary conditions for the child's developing character. The author emphasizes the need for study of the individual child. Among topics considered are The Growth of the Normal Self, The Part of the Adult, and Organized Provision for Character Building.

New Ways of Teaching Drawing, Music and Rhythmics. The New Era, December 1932.

The three phases of the esthetic training as related to modern education are presented in three articles: "Rhythm" by Charlotte Blensdorf; "Creative Music" by Alice Fellows, and "Creative Art" by Arthur Lismer.

Normal Lives for the Handicapped. By Marion L. Faegre. Child Welfare, December 1932.

Ways and means of teaching handicapped children to help themselves in spite of limitations.

Toys for Flattened Purses. By Dorothy W. Baruch. Child Welfare, December 1932.

Suggesting several economical ways of making good, practical toys for children of all ages. The author includes manipulative and creative toys, toys with dramatic possibilities, and exercise toys.

What Adolescents Want. (Statements by Girls and Boys.) The Parents' Magazine, December 1932.

An outline of nine points, which give the adult some insight into adolescent needs, together with a plea on their part to be respected as personalities.

The Editors' Page

CIVILIZATION has justly prided itself on its increasing protection of infancy. Necessarily dependent and irresponsible, the little child experiences, insofar as his parents can make it so, only what is useful, safe and pleasant. But his progress toward maturity is steadily away from this happy haven toward the bitter realities which adults cannot escape. If they are to live their humanity to the full, they must meet waste, danger, pain and defeat in various degrees, with death at the end for all.

THROUGH all the ages people have attempted to give protection for a longer and longer time to their young even at the expense of overextending childhood beyond its healthy limits. At no time perhaps more than in our day has parental protection reached so far into adolescence and even on into adulthood. And at no time, as a consequence, have so many young people found difficulty in rising to the demands of adult life. With most of these the disappointment or disillusionment carries a wistful suggestion of reproach that one has not been prepared—"If I had only been told! If I had only been warned!"

EVEN parents who have themselves come late upon disillusionment can school themselves to meet the realities of life so as to reassure, rather than to overprotect, both themselves and their children. Sex and death, fraud and deceit, rivalry and cunning, war and crime, need not be an endless succession of shocks; discovering its unpredictable and hazardous complexities may rather make of life a succession of spiritual expansions.

IT IS as misleading to be overrealistic as it is to be persistently romantic. The child needs indeed to adapt himself gradually to the realities imposed by the very nature of man. He needs further, however, to retain and assimilate that idealism which is no less a part of human nature, the aspiration toward excellence which involves sacrifice and effort. One need not remain naive and helpless to learn that the triumphs of the spirit are also facts of life.

Benjamin C. Gruenberg

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